

HUMANITIES

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NETWORK

Creativity, Persistence and the American Constitution

Lynne V. Cheney
Chairman, The National Endowment
for the Humanities

Editor's Note: CCH was honored to have Lynne Cheney present the introductory address at the Bicentennial Convocation on May 29 in Sacramento.

The Bicentennial year is a particularly gratifying time to be Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. I have the great pleasure of seeing coming into fruition many excellent projects on the Constitution that NEH has funded, everything from television and radio programs to superb scholarly works.

This year has also presented something of a problem for me, however, because I realized not long after I became Chairman that I was going to be asked to make a considerable number of speeches on the Constitution. I was going to have to do a lot of speaking on the Founding period, much of it before audiences like this one, full of Constitutional scholars. Now that's a formidable task for an English major, and I decided early on that the last thing I should try to do was pretend to be a Constitutional expert. Instead, I talk about the Constitution as an English major, as a writer. I talk about what happened in Philadelphia two hundred years ago as a story—and it is a very good story, indeed.

Part of what makes it a good story is a setting far enough in the past to have a slightly exotic air about it. One has only to think of how the delegates got to Philadelphia for that to be clear. Those traveling by land had a particularly dicey time of it. Travel speeds, limited by how far a horse could go in a day, depended on the condition of unpaved roads—or whether there were roads over the route in question.

And so it was that this most important political gathering ever to occur on this continent—perhaps in the world—was eleven days late in getting started. On May 14, 1787, the day the Federal Convention was supposed to begin, delegates from only two states—Pennsylvania and Virginia—were present. For lack of a quorum they had to adjourn that day and the next and the next. It wasn't until the end of the following week, Friday, May 25th, that a sufficient number of states were adequately represented for business to begin.

This situation teases the writerly mind. What must it have been like, for instance, to be George Washington, the most honored, the most venerated figure in the nation, and to arrive on time for a meeting—only to have to cool your heels for eleven days?

A writer looks for themes, for motifs that occur again and again. In the case of the Federal Convention, a very appealing theme has to do with characteristics that the delegates repeatedly displayed: creativity and persistence, both attributes that we in this country have prided ourselves on throughout the course of our history.

Creativity was present in abundance in Philadelphia even before the Convention got underway. As creative people often do, the Virginia delegates managed to turn



Lynne Cheney addresses the Convocation of the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution at McGeorge School of Law in Sacramento

a disadvantage—the eleven-day wait—into an advantage. They met daily, for several hours at a time, “in order,” George Mason reported, “to form a proper correspondence of sentiments.”

What they were actually doing was getting their act together, polishing the Virginia Resolves, the plan they would present to the Convention once it got underway. By having a plan, they would be able to set the agenda. They would be able to make sure, from the moment business began, that this Convention moved far beyond simply repairing the Articles of Confederation.

The Virginia Plan was, of course, largely Madison's brainchild, and I think it is he, more than any other, who exemplifies the themes of creativity and persistence. He has not achieved the historical recognition that other Founders have, perhaps because he was a shy man, guarded around strangers, perhaps because he was not a glittering, charismatic figure. But from those who knew him well and worked with him closely, he commanded profound respect. “He blends together the profound politician, with the scholar,” one of his fellow delegates wrote, and if we look closely at his life, we can see that he possessed in full measure a characteristic that often distinguishes the creative person: the ability to look beyond the moment and perceive the larger picture. As early as 1783, he'd begun to look beyond the Articles of Confederation and consider alternative forms of government. He had begun to read everything he could lay his hands on about ancient and modern forms of government, and he was aided and abetted in his efforts by Thomas Jefferson, then our delegate in Paris. When Madison asked for books about the “general constitution... of the several confederacies which have existed,” Jefferson responded by seeing that more than 200 volumes were shipped across the Atlantic.

At the Convention itself, Madison also took the long view, making sure to get a seat front and center so he could hear everything that went on—and record it. Using a shorthand he invented, he tried to capture “all that passed”—as he described it—during the four-month convention; he spent his evenings transcribing the notes.

Madison's long course of study, his careful notetaking over days and months were efforts that involved persistence. Part of what accounts for such persistence is the conviction, the absolute certitude, a man like Madison has that he can give the world something new, something better. That feeling was very much present in Philadelphia in 1787. The framers were acutely aware of being on the historical stage, were extraordinarily conscious of the fact that a Republican nation had not been seen on earth since the days of the Roman republic, and never had there been one of the magnitude they wanted to establish. The speeches of the framers refer to history time and again; and they knew, as they labored away in the State House throughout the hot summer, that if they succeeded, their deeds would echo down the generations. The awesomeness of that possibility, the exhilaration of it was a driving force in Philadelphia.

The Framers kept at their labors until on September 17, 1787, there was a document to sign. George Washington, who had presided over the Convention, had watched the Constitution evolve, and had sometimes despaired there would ever be agreement, declared that it was a miracle that such diverse delegates representing such diverse interests had managed to create a single frame of government.

But the genius of Philadelphia was not only in the writing of our founding document. It was also in the way the Framers moved beyond the obvious and the easy as they considered how to implement the Constitution. They could have had state legislatures ratify it. With those bodies already in place, that would have been the convenient thing to do. But it would have missed the point that this was a document of the people, primarily, and not of the states; moreover, the Constitution was law that preceded all other law. It was the measure of all other law. To have an ordinary legislative agency ratify it would be to diminish its paramount nature. And so, after the September 17th signing, when the Constitution was put on a stagecoach to New York for delivery to the Confederation Congress, it was accompanied by a request that the Congress submit it for approval to special state conventions.

“If we look closely at Madison's life, we can see that he possessed in full measure a characteristic that often distinguishes the creative person: the ability to look beyond the moment and perceive the larger picture.”

There was no way to be certain how ratification would turn out. The delegates to the Philadelphia Convention had kept their meetings secret, so the world at large had no idea they were working on a new Constitution rather than simply repairing the Articles of Confederation—as they had been instructed to do. When news spread about what they had done, there was outrage at their audacity: “We the people?” Patrick Henry asked sarcastically. “. . . who authorized them to speak the language of the people?”

But the framers of the Constitution had by no means exhausted either their creativity or their tenacity. Two of them, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton, with a little help early on from John Jay, joined forces under the pen name of “Publius” to write *The Federalist*, a series of essays laying out the case for the Constitution. These essays were learned, they were eloquent, and they were produced in astonishing quantity in an astonishingly short time: more than 70, out of a total of 85, were written in a little over six months.

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Thomas Jefferson Addresses Sacramento Audiences

Editor's Note: As part of the CCH-sponsored Bicentennial events in Sacramento, Clay Jenkinson made several appearances in the guise of Thomas Jefferson. As Jefferson, he shared with audiences his perspectives on the life and times of the founding fathers and invited questions on any topic—historical or modern. The following excerpt is taken from his presentation and exchange with the audience in the Governor's Conference Room of the State Capitol Building on May 28.

Citizens of the New Republic, because I believe in participatory democracy, I'm going to speak only for a few moments and then turn to your questions and comments. I hope that we will be able to talk about more than politics, one of the least interesting subjects in life. Let me be brief. What I have in mind is a government rigorously frugal and simple, that undertakes little or no national debt and pays it off within its own lifetime. No generation has the right to leave to its children a national debt. That is tyranny; you enslave your children and grandchildren and their children and grandchildren for one reason only—you are too spineless to balance your national checkbook.

I'm also for little or no military establishment. No standing army in times of peace, only a militia. No navy except a tiny coast guard. The best defense that any nation can have is to build a just, a true and a free society. A great society of that sort will be so beautiful that the rest of the world will bow down and worship it, rather than attack it. And if some nation were so stupid as to attack a greater society, the people of that society would spontaneously rise up to protect their national borders.

The only true functions of a national government in my opinion are foreign policy—and that should be limited, no entangling alliances, no diplomacy—the post office, and maybe a tiny coast guard to protect our harbors. This notion that you must have a vast military machine with its fingers all across the planet, that you have a legitimate interest in the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, in the Caribbean and in Central America, and in Asia—this is world empire. That's not what I intended. What I had in my mind was a radically decentralized third-rate nation. As long as we are a second, third, fourth or fifth-rate nation, we will be great and freedom will flourish here. The minute we become a great super power or world power like England or France, farewell virtue, farewell freedom. Because then we will be forced to protect our interests around the world. We will square off against other great nations, and we will move up the ladder of aggression into wars and diplomatic entanglements. There's nothing wrong with being a third-rate nation.

So I urge you to descend the ladder of greatness, to become an anonymous nation again. Furthermore I urge you to decentralize this nation. I purchased Louisiana in 1803, and I did believe that we would be a two-ocean continental nation. But what I had in mind was a two-ocean union of spiritually independent states, small republics. I hoped that California would be as different socially and politically from Florida as it is geographically. Centralization of American life has destroyed local control, autonomy, diversity. I wanted America to be a pluralistic society of loosely confederated English-speaking states. And I felt that any state that didn't believe that it was getting a fair deal in the Union had a natural right to withdraw. And I urge you in California to consider this, and not slavishly accept power from Washington, news from New York, or even entertainment from Los Angeles.



Clay Jenkinson as Thomas Jefferson

I wanted a nation that was free, fiercely independent, regionally diverse, and dedicated to natural rights—not only life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but a whole range of natural rights. You know this is the Bicentennial year of your Constitution, and you are now about to descend into a two-year orgy of self-satisfaction over this document. All over the country people are praising the best of all possible Constitutions, and the best of all possible nations. Nonsense. The Constitution was written by fifty five men, huddled on the Eastern seaboard in a pastoral society, two hundred years ago. No women were present, no Negroes, no Indians, no family farmers, no laborers. Fifty five upper middle-class males met together in Philadelphia, and presumed to represent the entire nation. They didn't do so then, and they certainly don't do so now in the twentieth century, when you are now a much more pluralist, ethnically-based global community. You need a new Constitutional convention in which women are represented, and people of color. That's the whole purpose of the American experiment—to widen the franchise, to bring more and more people in as they become prepared for the sacred business of self government. Government, remember, is not a natural thing. It is an artificial thing; it is voluntarily entered into as a compact, and when that compact ceases truly to represent the people, it should be dissolved and a new compact more in keeping with the times and needs should be installed instead.

I said to Madison from Paris, "Every constitution should be declared null and void after 19 years." That is the age of a generation. Constitutions should be written with disappearing ink, if possible, and every known copy should disappear and you should have to close the door and begin again, and decide what is just, what is right, what is good for the late twentieth century. You wouldn't drive to Florida with a roadmap made in 1905; why run your government with a roadmap made in 1787 by upper middle class males who did not and could not understand anything of the twentieth century?

My generation did its work, did it well I believe. But we are gone and it is time to start fresh. I know some of you are thinking we cannot have a constitutional convention today because if we do, all hell will break loose—radical right, radical left, religious fanatics, one-issue people, political action committees, lobbies, big money, irrational people. We will have national chaos and nothing will be produced, or if we produce a document at all, it will be worse, less clear, less rational, less true than the one that was produced by the founding fathers, those demi-Gods in Philadelphia. Nonsense. The same arguments were used then. The simple fact is that if you ask the American people to rise to the occasion of good sense and justice, they will do so. And if you are hiding behind the Constitution that was framed by Mr. Madison and Mr. Hamilton because you are afraid of what might happen in a real democracy, then don't call yourselves bold, or free, or democratic. Call yourselves cowardly.

Every age must recreate the world in its own image. Implied powers is really implied tyranny. Implied powers means that the president and the Supreme Court can make of the Constitution anything they please from day to day. You may as well write Constitutions on salt water taffy if you are going to have implied powers and stretch them in any shape you please.

Furthermore, the Constitution as it was written in Philadelphia did not contain a fundamental Bill of Rights. What good is it if it doesn't enshrine the natural rights of men? "What every people on earth has a right to expect," I wrote to Madison, "is a Bill of Rights, which in simple and plain English outlines rights that can never be taken away by anyone." A Bill of Rights was installed in the First Congress of the United States. A Constitution in which the Bill of Rights is an afterthought does not deserve much celebration in my opinion. Certainly the rights of men are more important than the structure of government. The Constitutional authorities in the twentieth century say that the Bill of Rights is the very heart and soul of your Constitution, and yet they couldn't be bothered in Philadelphia to include one.

Let me close my remarks with this. I wrote the Declaration of Independence in 1776. There was nothing original about it; I was merely enshrining the general feeling of all reasonable people. In it I said that we all have natural rights given to us by God at birth, incapable of being taken away from us for any purpose whatsoever and that among those were life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Until the United States achieves that vision of real equality and true equal protection under the law, you haven't achieved the revolutionary society, and you shouldn't celebrate a document that hasn't brought you to that point. We need continual revolution in this country until we achieve justice and until we do, we had better be prepared to experiment boldly. To say that you live in the best of all possible worlds when there are obvious political and economic injustices, is a terrible complacency, and history will not reward you for such bad thinking. We must continually experiment to build a utopian society.

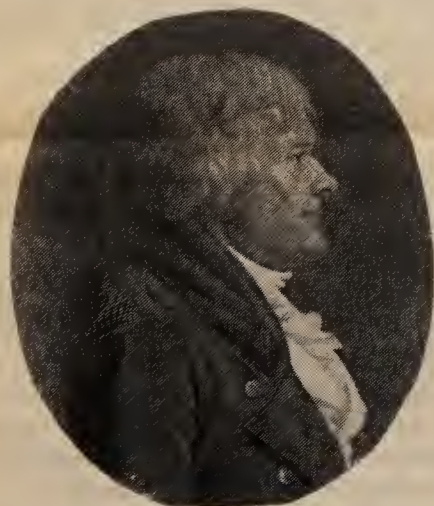
When I wrote the Declaration of Independence I did not understand all of its implications. Those have been discovered in American history, but everything I did in my life was to widen the franchise, bring more people into the process, give more power back to its true owners, the people. I did not realize the vision myself, but history should be moving us closer and closer to the vision. And certainly we should not stand tall and say we've done pretty well when there is still so far to go.

Democracy means amateur government and you must have that boldness to believe that simple citizens could do as well as those careerist politicians who win the Senate seat and then go off to Arlington to buy real estate. When they become salaried professionals, they don't serve you. They assume that they have a right to serve you, that they're experts, that you owe them allegiance. So shake it up, withdraw support from Sacramento, withdraw support from Washington. It can't be worse; it probably will be better. At any rate it will be interesting.

That is what revolution is all about. It is boldness; it is belief in democracy; it is belief in a little chaos now and then. To Madison I wrote, "I like a little rebellion now and then. It's as important in the political world as a thunderstorm is in the natural world." A thunderstorm comes through and may burn down a barn or two and flood a few fields, but it clears the air and nourishes the earth so that the plants can grow again. When I said the pursuit of happiness I did not have in mind VCRs and video games. I meant a musical instrument that you played yourself with your friends, letters that you wrote to your colleagues and your family, gardening, philosophy, simple retired life on a farm. I considered myself to be a philosopher farmer, not a politician. We ought to have people who are living private domestic lives with full dignity and satisfaction, and have limited or no government.

When I was the President of the United States the White House was moved to a swamp, to Washington. We built a new capital for America in the wilderness. That is in keeping with the great republican experiment of the century. We did not want to have a capital in Philadelphia because Philadelphia had been a colonial capital, and it had colonial associations. We did not want to have our capital in New York because New York was a certain kind of city with certain kinds of feelings and not everyone was comfortable there. So we thought, let's build our new national capital for this experimental nation in total wilderness, in a central place. So we went out to the swamps of the Potomac and we created Washington, and for a few years it served its purpose. But now you should remove the capital from Washington and put it in Butte, Montana, or Lincoln, Nebraska. And even then you should let little or no power and money go to it. You should handle most of your lives right here in your own community and resist authority that comes from elsewhere. Washington has no right to control your lives; you have that right.

Democracy is a risky business. People are sometimes misinformed; the majority sometimes tyrannizes over minorities. It is not beautiful; it is not even orderly. But it is the only kind of government that is just. People must be trusted with self-government, and in my opinion they will rise to the occasion. But you must educate them. The glue of democracy is education. Unless you enlighten the people generally, there is no point in giving them power. So my opinion is that you should spend all the money you spend on your national military on public education and cultural exchange with your so-called enemies around the world. And peace will break out in a democratic fashion all over the globe. Try it, it can't get worse. That's my vision.



Thomas Jefferson, 1804 engraving

I'd be glad to take your questions or your comments about any of this or any other matters.

QUESTION: Mr. Jefferson, how do you account for the fact that you, who were so much a part of the Revolution, were in France at the time of the signing of the Constitution?

JEFFERSON: I was on public duty in France and was not recalled for the purpose of the Constitutional Convention. Besides, I would not have wanted to be there for many reasons. Remember that the Constitutional Convention was in fact an extra-Constitutional event. People of the sovereign states of America sent representatives to Philadelphia. That was their charge by the states. What did they do? They closed the doors, shut the windows, established a secrecy rule and came out with a new central government. They exceeded their authority. I would not have wanted to be there, and I would have joined those who protested had I been there.

Secondly, I do not like working in committees, smoking in the back room and building compromises behind closed doors. If they had asked me to provide a constitution from Paris, I would gladly have written one. But I certainly would not have wanted to haggle over it paragraph by paragraph. I had enough of that with my Declaration of Independence.

Even so, when the Constitution was promulgated and copies were sent to me in Paris, I liked much of it. What I didn't like was the failure to include a Bill of Rights. That seems to me to be essential.

QUESTION: Would you have voted against the Constitution?

JEFFERSON: No. In fact when I was asked my opinions about the Constitution, I said that if the framers would agree to produce a Bill of Rights, within a reasonable amount of time, then I would withdraw my objections. Even though I found it to be an imperfect form of government, I still preferred that Constitution to none.



Clay Jenkinson appears as Thomas Jefferson at the Sacramento History Center

QUESTION: How did you decide to keep holding your own slaves, when you were so adamant about natural rights?

JEFFERSON: A very difficult question. I never sorted it out to my own satisfaction, and I'm sure I won't satisfy you. We had a slave system in the United States, and I spent my entire life trying to destroy it. When I wrote the plan for the government of the Western territories in 1784, I would have forbade slavery from crossing the Appalachian Mountains. It was rejected by one vote. In my draft constitution for the State of Virginia, I said that Negro people shall be declared free after the year 1800. As the Governor of Virginia I managed to get a law passed which ended the slave trade with Africa. In short, I thought if we can't immediately destroy the slave system, let's at least isolate it in the South and prevent it from spreading. Well, we didn't keep slavery out of the American West and when the Missouri Compromise was formed in 1819, that was the death knell of the Union.

Personally I couldn't release my slaves. Not only was it a felony to do so, but had I released them they would have had nowhere to go. They were untrained, there were no jobs for them, no homes for them, no farms for them. To release slaves without also providing for them in some way would have been totally irresponsible. So reluctantly I kept my slaves.

QUESTION: Mr. President, would you say something please about your views on education?

JEFFERSON: The state of education has never been very good in this country. In my time there was little or no education for the common citizen. There were no public schools, and without public schools, you perpetuate the pseudo-aristocracy. What you need is education which will look around the entire population and pick the best of your citizens from all backgrounds and promote them into positions of leadership and enlightenment. I had a system for free primary education for everybody, free secondary education for the best of those, and free university education for the few geniuses who emerged from that process. That way we could break down the pseudo-aristocracy, and give rise

to what I called the natural aristocracy, people with talent, intelligence and virtue. They come from every background, but they must be found and nurtured. In my time I wanted to create a free public education system, but the fact was that the American people weren't ready for it. It wasn't until a generation after my death that my plans were installed.

Education is the heart of it all. Without education you may as well not try democracy. You must educate the people freely, enlighten them. That does not mean indoctrinating them in American principles, but giving them the tools to question, to show skepticism and to resist authority.

QUESTION: Do you really think after ten generations, that if we throw this Constitution out that we could come up with as good a basic constitution?

JEFFERSON: I surely think we could. Even if we didn't come up with a better one, we would come up with a more just one, because the people who were delegates of the new constitutional convention would truly be a slice of American life. They would represent women and people of color and the disenfranchised from 1787. The new constitution might not be written in 18th century prose, but maybe it would help you get through the massive problems that you're going to face as you move into the next century. That's the question. Can you provide a structure of life in American which creates a climate of absolute adherence to the rights of man? That protects those rights in times of strain when people are saying things that are dangerous? The Bill of Rights must be absolute. Secondly, can you prevent certain individuals from accumulating unfair piles of wealth and material prosperity? Can you produce something like a rough economic justice in this country? Not a leveling, not a requirement that everybody have the same salary, or the same accumulation of property, but can you prevent a handful of individuals from having most of it? That's the question. The Constitution that Madison and Hamilton wrote couldn't anticipate the industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism in the form that you know it. So it can't control that problem.

The question is, can you provide a form of government that can control this country and make sure that everyone who is born feels dignity, has self reliance, finds work, gets educated and has something like equal protection under the laws and equal opportunity in this system. If you can't do that, I wouldn't celebrate this Constitution.

QUESTION: To what do you attribute your longevity?

JEFFERSON: I lived to be 83 years old, I washed my feet in ice water every morning of my adulthood. I rode my horse at least two hours a day including as President of the United States. I never rose after the sun from the age of 12, and I ate only vegetables. Try that and you'll live a long, long time.

Footnote by Clay Jenkinson: This is my Jefferson. It's an interpretation of Jefferson. There are many Jeffersons. All I can say is that I try to ground everything that I say in something Jefferson wrote or did, so that if you say why did you say this I can turn back to a letter and show it to you and then you can decide whether that's a careful extrapolation or not. And secondly, I hope and believe that if we had ten Jefferson scholars in the room, they would all agree that at least this is a plausible Jefferson if not their own Jefferson. Jefferson is a chameleon figure; his mind was extraordinarily nimble and in the course of a long lifetime he not only changed his mind, but there was a lot of contradiction. There's no systematic Jeffersonian work. He didn't write a textbook like John Adams. With Jefferson all we have are his polite letters and most of them were distributed behind the scenes in private. So how far would he have promulgated those things in a public meeting, we just don't know. All I know is that the Jefferson that I tried to recreate is one that would be a dangerous man in our time as he was a dangerous man in his own.

JUNE GRANTS AWARDED

Humanities in California Life

A. J. Russell and the Making of Modern America

Sponsor: Oakland Museum Association, Oakland
Project Director: L. Thomas Frye
Amount of Award: \$7,500 in outright funds and \$17,500 in matching funds if \$26,250 in outside gifts are raised

The Oakland Museum Association, on behalf of the Oakland Museum's History Department, will mount an exhibition entitled *A. J. Russell and the Making of Modern America*. The work of this eminent 19th century photographer documents with a wealth of detail two of the most important events in American history: the Civil War and the construction of the Transcontinental Railroad. There has been no previous major exhibition of Russell's work. The Oakland Museum's exhibition will focus on the major changes taking place in America during the latter half of the nineteenth century as witnessed by A. J. Russell. Photographs, artifacts, documents and exhibition texts will be grouped so as to highlight Russell's observation of forces that shaped modern America. The major topics are 1) the change from an agrarian economy to one based on manufacture and trade; 2) urbanization; 3) the change from an individualistic, entrepreneurial society to one that was increasingly hierarchical and stratified; 4) movement toward a mass society and nation-state; 5) evidence of an increasingly multi-cultural society; and 6) an examination of Russell's place in the history of photography, both technically and artistically. Two day-long symposiums on the building of the railroad will accompany the program: one on the railroad's multi-cultural workforce and the second on the cultural impact of 19th century technology.

Sonoma County Generations

Sponsor: Sonoma County Library, Santa Rosa
Project Director: Maurice Simons
Amount of Award: \$7,500

This project will explore the rich ethnic and cultural diversity of Sonoma County, using the theme of generations. In one sense "generations" means a group of individuals sharing a common heritage and constituting a step in a line of descent; a second meaning of generations is the process of coming or bringing into being. These notions of generations provide a thematic focus for a series of twelve programs in a variety of formats to be presented to out-of-school adults. The programs will take place in the community meeting rooms of regional branch libraries in October and November. There will be lectures, panel presentations, book discussions, exhibitions, and explorations of the library's resources and how to use them.

Visions Toward Tomorrow: The History of the East Bay Afro-American Community, 1852-Present

Sponsor: East Bay Negro Historical Society, Oakland
Project Director: Larry Crouchett
Amount of Award: \$7,500

Visions Toward Tomorrow will offer the first comprehensive interpretation of the Afro-American experience in the East Bay. Using existing scholarship on black Californians, oral histories, public archives, and private memorabilia collections, this project will yield new insights on how blacks have shaped the cultural, economic and political heritage of the East Bay. *Visions Toward Tomorrow* is designed as a pioneer study that

will spark similar explorations of Afro-American history in other regions of the state. By June of 1988 the project will mount one large permanent museum exhibit and two portable traveling displays; distribute interpretive booklets to accompany each exhibition; develop curriculum materials for high schools and colleges; produce three half-hour documentaries on the communities of blacks in Oakland, Richmond and Berkeley; and produce one 50-minute documentary on the East Bay as a whole.



Police car sit-in, UC Berkeley, Free Speech Movement, October 1968 (See "Berkeley in the Sixties") photo by Paul Fusco

The Women's West: Race, Class, and Social Change

Sponsor: Coalition for Western Women's History, Pullman, WA
Project Director: Karen Wickre
Amount of Award: \$7,500 in outright funds and \$5,720 in matching funds if \$8,580 in outside gifts are raised

The Coalition for Western Women's History will sponsor a conference entitled *The Women's West: Race, Class, and Social Change* to be held at San Francisco State University, August 13-15, 1987. The conference will bring together humanities scholars, interested lay people, teachers, and professionals in the fields of archives, libraries, and museums, to discuss current research on women in the western United States. The conference will explore such topics as "Mexican Women in the Southwest," "Historical Treatment of Chinese American Women," "Women of the California Gold Rush," "Oral Tradition and the Kodiak Midwife," "Chicanas in Literature." The conference format will consist of presentations, panel discussions, teaching workshops, art and book exhibits, and relevant city tours.

New Address for Los Angeles CCH Office

The Los Angeles CCH office has moved. Please note the new address and telephone number:
315 West Ninth Street, Suite 1103
Los Angeles, CA 90015
213/623-5993

Dissemination of the Humanities

Barrio Logan—A View from Under the Bridge

Sponsor: The Film Arts Foundation, San Francisco
Project Director: Marilyn Mulford
Amount of Award: \$13,000 in matching funds if \$19,500 in outside gifts are raised

This one-hour film tells the story of a Mexican-American community located on the waterfront in San Diego twenty miles from the Mexican-U.S. border. The film traces the history of this community, Barrio Logan, from its creation around 1900, to its peak in the late 1920s, when it was the second largest Mexican-American community on the West Coast with a population of over 20,000, to its near extinction in the 1950s and 1960s, and finally to its revitalization in the 1970s centering around the creation of Chicano Park, which has become famous in Mexican-American communities throughout the country. The film will explore the process through which Logan residents began to make positive changes in their lives and their community by using the richness of their cultural heritage, especially their artwork, as the basis around which to educate themselves to gain political power. Scheduled release date is November 1987.

Berkeley in the Sixties

Sponsor: The Film Arts Foundation, San Francisco
Project Director: Mark Kitchell
Amount of Award: \$7,500 in matching funds if \$11,250 in outside gifts are raised

Berkeley in the Sixties is the first major interpretive history of the social protest and change in America during the 1960s. This three-hour documentary film is about a generation's attempt at political and cultural transformation. The film explores the evolution of their rebellion by focusing on the ideas and values that propelled people on the paths of change they pursued. Ten individuals, each with a different journey, plus an array of "witnesses" who add balancing perspectives, present a rich portrait of a complex era. Woven into this fabric is a wealth of archival film that captures the time in all its immediacy and passion. Scheduled release date is in 1988.

A Place Apart

Sponsor: The Film Arts Foundation, San Francisco
Project Director: Jeanne LePage
Amount of Award: \$27,888 in matching funds if \$41,832 in outside gifts are raised

A Place Apart is a half hour documentary film that focuses on the land management controversy in Big Sur. Federal management has been proposed several times for Big Sur, but each proposal has been bitterly opposed by a majority of local residents who fear a federal takeover of private lands and increased tourism. Using Big Sur as a case example, the film will examine the ethical and political struggle involved in land preservation and will offer new ideas to supplement traditional land-use policies. The film will demonstrate to the American public both the importance and inherent difficulty involved in protecting our wildlands. Scheduled release is February 1988.

Humanities and Contemporary Issues

Crossroad

Sponsor: Cultural Research & Communication, Inc., Berkeley

Project Director: Vivian Kleiman

Amount of Award: \$7,500

Crossroad is a one-hour film exploring issues in cross-cultural medicine as a vehicle to investigate broader issues of cross-cultural communication. Although of particular interest to health professionals, the special problems in cross-cultural medicine have ramifications beyond the medical community. The film will probe into the personal experiences of three families, each from a different ethnic background: Southeast Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. The goal of the film is to provide a contextual analysis for understanding the problems they face and the solutions they find. For example, how do they choose between a traditional healer and a doctor? What are some of the traditional practices and how do they reflect the different world-views? How are these traditions being modified and adapted to the New World? What is the nature of cultural barriers in health care? Exploration of these questions will lead to an investigation of larger themes: the ambiguities of humanistic vs. scientific medicine and the "culture" of physicians as a component in the physician-patient relationship in the West.

Fenix Rising

Sponsor: Cine Accion, San Francisco

Project Director: Laurie Coyle

Amount of Award: \$7,500

Fenix Rising is a half hour documentary about the cobalt 60 radiation accident which occurred in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, in the winter of 1984. Many experts consider the spill of radioactive cobalt and its subsequent spread throughout the United States and Mexico the worst radiation accident in North America to date. *Fenix Rising* examines the causes and consequences of the accident using the perceptions of people involved in the accident—from nuclear officials to workers, truck drivers, scientists, doctors and community members receiving the radioactive materials. The film also includes the perspectives of humanities scholars to establish the historical context of the accident, to probe present waste disposal practices, and to evaluate current attitudes and definitions of the public welfare. This grant will support research and script development.

Philosophical Problems in Medical Genetics

Sponsor: Division of Medical Ethics and Department of History and Philosophy of Health Sciences, University of California San Francisco

Project Director: Albert R. Jonsen

Amount of Award: \$6,600

As California takes the lead in the science of medical genetics, the ideas and ideals of that science, and the perplexing choices it can raise can affect the lives of a growing number of Californians. This project will sponsor a two-day conference designed to advance the inquiry of humanities scholars into these ideas, ideals and choices. Historians, philosophers and other scholars will present current work on the conceptual roots of medical genetics, the explanatory strategies the field employs and the ethical issues its practitioners encounter. The conference will be held December 11 and 12 at UCSF and will be open to the public. Arrangements have been made to publish the conference papers as a volume in the *Philosophy and Medicine* book series published by Reidel Press.

Science and Technology: Philosophical and Ethical Implications for Non-Western Cultures

Sponsor: California Institute of Integral Studies

Project Director: John Broomfield

Amount of Award: \$8,210

This project will present a series of four colloquia that focus on questions about the interface of modern Western science and technology with values arising largely in relation to other cultures. The series seeks to broaden public understanding of complex issues related to the practice of science and technological development of stepping outside the framework of Western assumptions and values. Topics of the colloquia are: (1) Science and Technology: Philosophical and Ethical Implications for Non-Western Cultures; (2) When Is a Technology Appropriate to a Culture?; (3) The Ethical Management of Resources; (4) New Communication Technologies: Cultural Imperialism or Bridge for Cultural Enrichment? In each colloquium, presentations by a panel of speakers will be followed by interaction among the speakers and dialogue with the audience. The colloquia will be held at the Unitarian Center in San Francisco in October and November.

Views From Within: The Wartime Internment Experience of Japanese-Americans

Sponsor: Asian American Studies Center, UCLA

Project Director: Yuji Ichioka

Amount of Award: \$7,500

In this, the year of the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, the wartime internment of Japanese-Americans stands out as the most flagrant violation of Constitutional rights in American history. This two-day conference on the mass internment of Japanese-Americans during the Second World War will contribute toward a deeper understanding of this dark chapter in American Constitutional history. It will examine the question of Constitutional rights and Japanese-Americans, and the meaning of the Japanese-American wartime experience for contemporary society. Coinciding with major national, regional, and local Bicentennial commemorative events, the conference will be held on the University of California, Berkeley campus, over the weekend of September 19–20, 1987.

Shaping Economic Policy: An Interdisciplinary, Cross-Constituency and Values-Centered Approach

Sponsor: The Center for Ethics and Social Policy, Berkeley

Project Director: Ron Stief

Amount of Award: \$7,500 in outright funds and \$4,120 in matching funds if \$6,180 in outside gifts are raised

The question of future directions for economic policy is most credible when addressed and acted upon by an interdisciplinary working group of scholars, business people, union members, representatives of minority and international concerns, religious and civic leaders. This project will draw together a group of twenty of the best thinkers and actors from previous forums to explore actions in economic policy. Participants will select an economic issue which lends itself to an interdisciplinary approach, e.g., employment policy or international debt and finance. They will meet once a month for a year, and with a team of resource people will develop their own unique perspective on the issue which will be shared with the wider public in the final four months of the project through public forums, radio and television talk shows, and other activities which will help to promote the model they developed.

Working Class Writers

Sponsor: Bay Area Video Coalition, San Francisco

Project Director: Douglas Weihnacht

Amount of Award: \$7,500

This sixty-minute videotape documentary will profile four contemporary working class Californians who use literature to portray the rich diversity of California working life. The videotape will provide a historical context by reviewing the events that have shaped a tradition of blue-collar writing in California and will show how that tradition continues today. Through their stories and poetry, writers are able to break down barriers to understanding the problems and the pride of working people; the common language of literature allows them to bring the lives of workers into sharper focus. Such writers as Jack Conroy, Tillie Olsen, and Eric Hoffer come to literature for individual reasons, but for all of them there is a common motivating fact—a desire to bring the reality of working life to the larger society. Scheduled release date is January 1988.



Rocky Mountain Glee Club, photograph by A. J. Russell, 1868 (see "A. J. Russell and the Making of Modern America")

JUNE GRANTS

continued

Humanities for Californians

Constitutionalism and the Social Imagination: A Bicentennial Conference

Sponsor: Department of English, UCLA

Project Director: Robert M. Maniquis

Amount of Award: \$7,500 in outright funds and \$3,552 in matching funds if \$5,327 in outside gifts are raised

The purpose of this three-day Bicentennial conference is to bring together specialists from literature, law, history, political science, and other disciplines as well as the adult public to discuss the presence of constitutionalism in the cultural and intellectual processes that make up our "social imagination." The four areas for discussion during this conference are: (1) The Constitution and History; (2) Constitutionalism and Property; (3) Constitutionalism and Social Movements; (4) Constitutionalism and Culture. The invited speakers are eight distinguished scholars and professors from universities across the country. The conference will take place November 6-8 at the James E. West Alumni Center, UCLA.

Taper Perspectives

Sponsor: The Mark Taper Forum, Los Angeles

Project Director: Corey Beth Madden

Amount of Award: \$7,500

Taper Perspectives, a pre-play lecture series, will invite scholars to discuss topics in the humanities which relate to the Forum's mainstage production season in order to provide audiences with a greater understanding of the background of theatrical literature and the issues into which it delves. Additionally, one scholar for each production will be asked to write an article dealing with a humanistic element of the play which will be published in the magazine "Taper Forum." *Taper Perspectives* will offer its audiences the opportunity to discover through the work of scholars how the humanities influence contemporary society. *Taper Perspectives* will run from September 1987 through August 1988.

We the People: The Constitution to End all Constitutions?

Sponsor: Glendale Community College

Project Director: Richard L. Williams

Amount of Award: \$7,500

We the People: The Constitution to End all Constitutions? is the title of a series of public debates intended to stimulate reflection on Constitutional issues that affect our lives today. The six debates will be held on the Glendale College campus in October-December of 1987 and March-May of 1988. Topics for the debates between scholars include: "The Constitution: Is It Obsolete?"; "Separation of Powers: The Imperial Presidency or the Deadlock of Democracy?"; "The Bill of Rights: Is the Bill of Rights Tail Wagging the Constitutional Dog?"; "You and I and Constitutional Government: A Matter of Rights or Responsibilities?"; "Individual Rights: Natural or Civil? Which One? And For Whom?"; "E Pluribus Unum: Does Mr. Madison's Constitution require Mr. Madison's Avenue?" The debates are part of a year-long series of activities by the Glendale College Bicentennial Celebration Committee, which will also develop a speakers' bureau for use by local organizations.

Creativity, Persistence and the American Constitution

continued from p. 1

What is easily the finest political commentary the nation has ever produced was written at the rate of a thousand words a day by men who were busy with other tasks: Madison, serving in the Continental Congress and writing letters of encouragement to pro-Constitutional forces across the nation; Hamilton practicing law and weaving his way through the treacherous maze of New York politics.

It was an amazing performance—and a crucial one. First published in newspapers, *The Federalist* seemed to some to overwhelm public debate. Those opposing the Constitution simply couldn't keep up. One opponent who was pounded by this battery of prose observed that "in decency [Publius] should now rest on his arms, and let the people draw their breath for a little."

The ratification process took the better part of a year, and after ratification it would be almost a year before the first Congress was sworn in and the first President inaugurated. One important result that can come out of the Bicentennial celebration is wider realization of the timespan of our founding story. Creating our Constitutional government involved daring and imagination, but it also required hard work. By the time the new government was launched in April, 1789, men like James Madison and Alexander Hamilton had put in years of sustained effort.

A second important result would be a deeper understanding of how important our national stories are to us. Each of us might put that story together a little differently. But we Americans are no different from other peoples. We need positive tellings of our national story, recountings of the past that inspire us to live up to what we admire.

In any case, to present the story of the Constitution's framing in terms of values that we have long treasured is to be entirely adequate to the facts. The Founders of this country were persistent men, and they persisted until they had a government that could secure the freedom they treasured. The Founders persisted as the pilgrims had who came to New England and made a home out of wild and inhospitable lands. They persisted as the Continental forces had through the long cold winter at Valley Forge. The Founders persisted as Lincoln would, in the cause of Union. They persisted as would the men and women who took the long, hard journey West and made this country into a continental nation.

Like all these others, the Founders persisted in the cause of freedom, but it is important to remember that they also *acted* in a state of freedom. The liberty they had fought for beginning in 1776 provided the conditions in which they could dream large dreams and pursue them relentlessly. And if the creativity and perseverance they demonstrated has been repeated many times in our history, it is due in no small part to the fact that we live in liberty, that we are free—free to pursue whatever heart can hope or mind imagine.

This idea was brought home to me a few months ago when I heard a radio interview with Fergus Fay, one of the men who worked on the Voyager. "You're free to think," Fay told the interviewer. "You're free to work; and then you go build it."

And so it was with the Framers of the Constitution. Free to think and free to work, they built us all a nation.

Proposal-Writing Workshops in San Francisco and Los Angeles

The next proposal-writing workshops are scheduled as follows: Tuesday, August 18 and Thursday, August 20 at both the San Francisco CCH office, 312 Sutter St., and at the Los Angeles CCH office, 315 West Ninth St. All workshops are held between 10 a.m. and noon. They are free, but space is limited so please call to register: San Francisco (415) 391-1474; Los Angeles (213) 623-5993.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Exhibits

to September 30 "The Chinese and Japanese in California" at the Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley. M-F 9 am-5pm; Sat 1-5 pm. 415/642-8171.

to September 30 "Bridges to History" at the Sutro Library and the Labor Archives, 480 Winston Dr., San Francisco. Sutro Library hours are Mon 10am-9pm; Tues-Sat 10am-5pm. The Labor Archives is open by appointment. 415/564-4010.

September 12 to October 11 "Vietnamese Buddhist Refugees: Their Cultural Contribution to California Life," at the Pacific Asia Museum, 46 N. Los Robles Ave., Pasadena. 818/449-2742.

Lectures

August 13-15 "The Women's West: Race, Class and Social Change," a conference at the Seven Hills Conference Center, San Francisco State University. For registration information call 415/861-0202.

September 19 & 22 "Taper Perspectives," a pre- and post-play discussion of *Babbitt* at the Mark Taper Forum, Los Angeles Music Center, 135 N. Grand Ave. 213/972-7353.

September 19-20 "Views from Within: the Wartime Internment Experience of Japanese-Americans," a conference at Dwinelle Hall, UC Berkeley. 213/825-2974.

September 17 "We the People: the Constitution to End all Constitutions?", keynote address to open series of six debates beginning in October. Glendale Community College, Glendale. 818/240-1000 x423

September 26 "Vietnamese Buddhist Refugees: Their Cultural Contribution to California Life," lecture/panel discussion at Pacific Asia Museum, 46 N. Los Robles Ave., Pasadena. 2-5pm. 818/449-2742.

CCH Remembers Lynn White and Florette Pomeroy

The Council was saddened to hear of the passing of two former board members:

Lynn Townshend White, Jr., one of the nine founders of the California Council for the Humanities, died in Los Angeles on March 30 at the age of 79. He served on the Council from 1974 until 1977. Dr. White held degrees from Stanford, Union Theological Seminary, and Harvard. After teaching at Princeton and Stanford, he became president of Mills College in 1943, a post he held fifteen years. He then became a professor of history at UCLA, where he founded the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, serving as its first director. He was the first humanist to be appointed a University Professor of the University of California.

Internationally renowned both as a medieval historian and as an historian of technology, Dr. White used interdisciplinary research methods, including archaeological and other non-literary sources, and his scholarship ranged from topics such as the accelerated rate of historical change to anxiety and aggression in Western civilization.

His activities on behalf of the California Council for the Humanities underscored his interest in bringing the insights of scholars to the public, and he helped articulate the Council's first theme—"the pursuit of community in California"—which still underlies so many of the Council's programs. In 1974, after a series of statewide meetings, he framed a challenge for the Council and for us all: "How do we find community in the final sense—the sense including generations of the unborn as well as the multiplicity of ethnic and social groups?" The humanities community will miss the broad perspectives and long views offered by Lynn White.

Florette White Pomeroy, a member of the Council from 1979 until 1984, died in San Francisco on June 29 at the age of 76. A graduate of Loyola University College of Law, she served 20 years with state, federal, and international agencies on programs in welfare, housing, and refugee relief. For eight years, she was Executive Director of the National Council on Alcoholism in the Bay Area. For the past decade, she was a founding partner of Consultants in Philanthropy, dispensing good counsel to dozens of non-profit organizations.

Pomeroy House, a San Francisco residence for alcoholic mothers and their children, was named for her when it opened in 1985. Those wishing to honor her are asked to contribute to it, care of Women's Alcoholism Center, 2261 Bryant Street, San Francisco.

She was honored many times for her tireless service by civic and philanthropic organizations, and several hundred friends and admirers who knew Florette from her work of five decades gathered for a memorial service in San Francisco on July 2. Those of us fortunate enough to have listened to Florette's marvelous voice will find it hard to believe it is now silent and those who felt her powerful personal presence now feel a very great absence. We shall miss her very much.

Governor Deukmejian Appoints Four New CCH Members

On May 20 Governor Deukmejian announced the appointment of four distinguished Californians to the CCH. We are very pleased to welcome: Dr. Francisco Jimenez, Dr. Don Schweitzer, Dr. Harry Tam and Ms. Ruth Watanabe to the Council.

Dr. Jimenez is Division Director of Arts and Humanities at Santa Clara University, a position he has held since 1981. He received his B.A. in Spanish from the University of Santa Clara, and his Ph.D. in Spanish Language and Latin American Literature from Columbia University. He is a member of the Board of Trustees for Santa Clara University and of the Modern Language Association of America.



Dr. Don Schweitzer, Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, California State University, Fullerton

Dr. Schweitzer is the dean of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at California State University, Fullerton, a position he has held since 1979. From 1973–1979 he served as Associate Dean for the University. He received his B.A. in psychology from the University of California, Riverside and his Ph.D. in social psychology from the University of Nevada, Reno. He is a member of the Literacy Volunteers of America and the Council of Arts and Sciences.



Dr. Harry Tam, President, United Acupuncturists of California, San Francisco

Dr. Tam is president of the United Acupuncturists of California and chairman of the Lincoln University Foundation in San Francisco. He received his chiropractic degree from the Los Angeles College of Chiropractic, graduated from the Kowloon China Traditional Medical College in 1969 and was awarded an honorary degree, Doctor of Oriental Medicine, from the University of Health Sciences, Los Angeles. Dr. Tam has been active in Asian community affairs and attended White House Briefings by President Reagan in 1984 and 1987.

Ms. Ruth Watanabe is a partner with Video Action of Los Angeles. She received her B.A. in business education from UCLA in 1959. She is a member of the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center, the UCLA College of Letters & Science Advisory Council and the Japanese-American National Museum.



Dr. Francisco Jimenez, Director, Division of Arts and Humanities, Santa Clara University (photo by Glenn Matsumara)

All four new members will serve four-year terms on the Council. Constance Carroll, chair of the CCH, and Jim Quay, executive director, together with other members of the Council and staff extend a warm welcome to the four new members. We look forward to working with you.

At the same time we give our sincere thanks to the six Council members whose terms of service expired in June: Jim Dremann, Danah Fayman, Jim Houston, Dottie Smith, Robin Wilson, and Andrew Wright. We will miss you all!

Radio Education Project Begins Broadcasting in September

The *Bicentennial Edition* of the "Bill of Rights Radio Education Project" is a series of half-hour radio documentaries on contemporary issues that have their bases in the Bill of Rights. The series will be broadcast once a week for 13 weeks beginning Tuesday, September 1. The programs are presented in a documentary format and include such widely debated topics as: sex education, censorship and libraries, school prayer, abortion, gun control, national security, cruel and unusual punishment, Native American land claims, and televised court hearings. For further information about program content, scheduled satellite distribution, or tape distribution contact Karen Ishizuka, Project Director, c/o Pacifica Foundation, 5316 Venice Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90019. 213/931-1625.

The executive producer for the project is Adi Gevins. Partial funding for the project was provided by CCH.

Celebrate the Constitution Guide Available

Celebrate the Humanities: A Guide to Public Programs in the Humanities, 1987–1991 is a new publication made possible by a special grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Guide was prepared by an advisory committee of State Humanities Council staff along with members of the staff of the Federation of State Humanities Councils. It is designed to help individuals and groups plan thoughtful programs related to the nation's founding document. A limited number of free copies of the Guide are available to representatives of civic and community groups that are planning Bicentennial public programs. Please contact the CCH office for more information about the Guide.

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NEXT PROPOSAL DEADLINE: October 1, 1987

Proposals for these deadlines must conform to the 1987 Program Announcement. Send 10 copies of all proposals (14 copies of media proposals) to the San Francisco office by the due date.

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NETWORK

CCH Receives Exemplary Award for "A More Perfect Union" Tour

The audience at the Convocation on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, held in Sacramento on May 29 and sponsored by the Council, was pleased to hear NEH Chairman Lynne Cheney announce that the California Council for the Humanities had just received an award of \$63,946 from the Endowment. The award will make it possible for the Ukiah Players, a five-person dramatic troupe, to tour 22 community college campuses in 1988 and to present a 45-minute dramatic sketch entitled "A More Perfect Union" to audiences in rural towns from Weed to Taft.

"A More Perfect Union" presents a lively tour of events during the Constitutional Convention held in Philadelphia in 1787 and challenges audiences to reflect upon critical Constitutional issues facing Americans then and now. The play was developed during 1985 with CCH funds awarded to a project sponsored by the Mendocino County Office of Education, under the direction of Ed Nickerson. The Ukiah Players, guided by historian Daniel Markwyn of Sonoma State University, created a script and performed the play before more than 2,200 students and adults throughout Mendocino County in early 1986.

The play was so well-received that the Council decided to submit an elaboration of the Mendocino County project in an annual NEH competition open to all 53 state humanities councils. Eleven councils received awards this year. Dr. Cheney's announcement in May thus crowned the efforts of many people and means that audiences in small towns like Columbia and Weed, mountain towns like Placerville, Central Valley towns like Taft, and coastal cities like Monterey and Eureka will be able to enjoy "A More Perfect Union."



Members of the Ukiah Players Theatre perform scene from "A More Perfect Union"

In addition to making it possible for the Ukiah Players to travel throughout the north and central portions of the state, the NEH grant provides for audience discussions led by scholars at the end of each performance. Six scholars selected from the host community colleges or from nearby CSU campuses will join with the Ukiah Players and three nationally-known Constitutional scholars to discuss the play and the questions it presents. Finally, a substantial playbill containing short essays and historical information about the Constitution will be handed to everyone attending the performances.

The Ukiah Players have already played in many different venues from high school gymnasiums to the chambers of the California State Legislature. Coordinating the tour for the Council is Dr. Barbara Mertes, Dean of Institutional Planning and Community Relations for the South County Community College District. Most of the performances are scheduled for February 1988; a schedule will be published in a future newsletter. In the meantime, the Council would like to acknowledge the work of Ed Nickerson, Dan Markwyn, and the Ukiah Players for enhancing California's celebration of the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution.

—Jim Quay
Executive Director

The California Council for the Humanities is
a state-based affiliate of the National
Endowment for the Humanities